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ROUND TABLE

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A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

ROOSEVELT *vs.* HITLER

WILLIAM ELLIOTT
GEORGE PETTEE
T. V. SMITH

378th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY • 166

MAY 18, 1941

The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

ROOSEVELT
VS.
HITLER

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

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WILLIAM Y. ELLIOTT, Professor of Government, Harvard University

GEORGE S. PETTEE, Instructor of Government, Harvard University

T. V. SMITH, Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago

* A radio discussion broadcast from Boston, Mass., over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, May 18, 1941, at 2:30 P.M., Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

ROOSEVELT
vs.
HITLER

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As the European war spreads over an increasing area of the world no important nation remains unaffected by its political, economic, and social repercussions. No longer a dispute over boundaries or suppressed minorities, or even over economic potentials, the war has been epitomized as a battle of political ideologies—a death struggle between totalitarianism and democracy.

For Americans the problem has been stated sportingly: "Roosevelt vs. *Hitler." What does Hitler stand for? What does Roosevelt stand for? What choices lie before America today, and what would each alternative mean to the average American?*

To answer some of these questions, and to suggest others related to them, the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *invited three expert observers to its microphone to discuss: "Roosevelt* vs. *Hitler."*

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MR. SMITH: Let us reason together about Roosevelt *vs.* Hitler.

MR. ELLIOTT: Well, let's be reasonable men; but let's not forget that reason does not commit us to backing Hitler instead of Roosevelt in this struggle.

MR. PETTEE: We surely need to reason now, but I believe we must attempt to reason on a level above both Roosevelt and Hitler; and, indeed, to learn *how* to reason in this modern world.

MR. SMITH: It was one hundred years ago that Carlyle wrote his famous book on *Heroes and Hero Worship.* Celebrating that one hundredth anniversary, Mr. Wecter has written the recent book, *The Hero in America.*

We are dealing today with an American hero of the present time versus the hero of another country, but each a villain to the other and each a villain to each other's people.

MR. ELLIOTT: The American people must be discriminating enough to determine who is the true hero and what the true hero means in terms of human life. Reasonableness, yes; but we cannot reason with Hitler. He represents force. Now Roosevelt is the elected representative of a great people. That means that he is not the same simple symbol that Hitler is. Hitler stands—by his own will and by the will of the party that stands behind him—supreme in terms of force. Roosevelt necessarily is one among many leaders in a democracy and is not in the same sense a symbol.

MR. PETTEE: I believe Hitler—although he stands on force—is not free, because he stands on force alone. I think the force itself is limited by the facts of human existence and is thoroughly limited and will reach this limit.

MR. SMITH: He is free of Hess now, apparently.

MR. PETTEE: No doubt!

MR. ELLIOTT: I don't know about that. Nobody knows whether or not Hess is a Trojan horse. An interesting dispatch that has just been handed to me reports that people are being arrested in Germany today; that the number in Berlin alone amounts to several hundred; adding that people in restaurants and other public places who discuss the Hess case are immediately pounced upon by the secret police and jailed.[1] That shows what sort of principles Hitler really represents.

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[1] *The Exchange Telegraph, British news agency, in a dispatch from Göteborg, Sweden, quoted the Berlin correspondent of the newspaper "Göteborgposten" as saying that Hess's wife was arrested "two days ago and that a multitude of arrests followed the escape of Hess to Scotland—in Berlin alone there have been hundreds." German sources deny that Frau Hess is under arrest.*

MR. PETTEE: I object to the term "principle" used in connection with Hitler, and I think there is a good basis of agreement among many observers on this point. I agree that certain things lie behind Hitler, but I think they are rather motives or forces or the circumstances of modern Europe rather than principles.

MR. ELLIOTT: Well, call them principles or call them motives; they come to the same thing—don't they?—in the end. They mean that one man's will is now determining the fate of humanity to an extraordinary and alarming degree.

MR. PETTEE: No, I don't think so. I think it is *not* one man's will. I think that the man has become the carrier and symbol of certain forces in modern Europe. I don't think they are principles, and I'd like to spend just a moment on that point. When we speak of principles we are invoking an established rule familiar to historians: that ideas have an effect on institutions; that ideas have a role in history. I don't think ideas have any such role in revolution, and I don't think the ideas which Hitler speaks are to be taken as dangerous.

MR. SMITH: It is quite clear that the hope of mankind, and perhaps the pathos of mankind, has made of these two persons—Roosevelt and Hitler—*personages*, and I think we ought to discuss the principles that lie back of these (call them by whatever name you will), because all of us agree that two ways of life are now in conflict.

MR. ELLIOTT: An irrepressible conflict. It is a conflict between two worlds. One of them has been called *The Wave of the Future*,[2] though it is often more correctly represented as *The Wave of the Past*.[3] I know you don't agree with that, Pettee.

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[2] *A recent book by Anne Lindbergh* (*Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940*).

[3] *A recent book challenging the conclusions of Anne Lindbergh's book, by R. H. Markham* (*University of South Carolina Press, 1941*).

MR. PETTEE: I'd like to jump on that point right now. I don't think there is any such thing as "the wave of the past" or can be, in any rational universe, unless your philosophy includes a great many wild cards. I think Naziism is "the wave of the present" in Europe, and I think "the wave of the future" belongs to all of us.

MR. ELLIOTT: But the wave of the *past* is an easily recognizable wave, isn't it? It is a wave that throughout history has tried to simplify control over human relations by putting them all in the hands of a single will—a will that is responsible neither to God nor to man, but is above all human limitations. That is the real principle behind Naziism, and just as the will of Hitler is superior to the party and to the people of Germany, so the will of the German people will become superior to the rest of the world if Nazi principles win.

MR. PETTEE: I don't feel that the situation justifies that analysis at all. As I say, I don't feel that there can be any such thing as the wave of the past. Logically, things can have their consequences only at a later time. The term "wave of the past" arises as the by-product of a liberal interpretation of history, which I think has been largely discredited in all our minds but which we haven't cleaned up.

MR. SMITH: We don't believe in the great-man theory of heroes, then; there are larger movements which these men symbolize.

MR. PETTEE: No, and I don't think we believe any longer in the terms in which John Stuart Mill described them.[4]

MR. SMITH: That is going pretty far, isn't it?

MR. PETTEE: History is a long, continuous process from slavery to freedom, and any backlash must represent a wave of the past.

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[4] *English social philosopher (1806–73), author of "A System of Logic," "Principles of Political Economy," and "Utilitarianism."*

MR. ELLIOTT: You are going to write off ideas altogether, then, and all the values that go with them. But let's see what that really means . . . .

MR. PETTEE: Far from it! I think a reconstruction of the philosophy of history does not mean *writing off* the role of ideas; it means *revaluing* the role of ideas.

MR. ELLIOTT: Well, let's put the ideas in terms of facts, shall we?

MR. PETTEE: Surely!

MR. ELLIOTT: The facts indicate that, if Hitler wins, people with my views are not going to get an opportunity to discuss this sort of question in any form, reasonable or otherwise; whereas if Roosevelt wins we can go on discussing it perfectly amicably.

MR. PETTEE: At that point I think you betray the fact that you think still in terms of a conventional victory. To my own mind the conventional victory is as obsolete a concept as conventional peace or conventional war. I think we all know that conventional peace is a bygone thing. We are out of it already ourselves.

MR. ELLIOTT: There are a lot of people who have new-fashioned ways of looking at things that date with every new headline in the paper—there is a "Lo, here" and "Lo, there" school of people. But let's just look at the four freedoms Roosevelt stood for and see whether or not they are something more than these ideas that seem to you out of date, outmoded.

Freedom from fear. Isn't that an important thing to save in human life?

MR. SMITH: I hear Czechoslovakia saying, "Yes."

MR. ELLIOTT: *Freedom from want.*

MR. SMITH: I hear all Poland saying, "Yes."

MR. PETTEE: I hear all Europe and America saying, "Yes."

MR. ELLIOTT: *Freedom from intolerance; freedom from the oppression of religion.*

MR. SMITH: I do not hear Hitler saying, "Yes."

MR. ELLIOTT: I don't think you will hear Hitler saying "Yes" to that or to freedom of civil and political liberty in the conventional sense that we enjoy them. We've taken these things for granted, but they are not out of date. If we lose them, it will be because we have forgotten how valuable they were.

MR. SMITH: Whatever may be said about the philosophy of history, Pettee (and it is a large subject, I know, as an ignorant man and philosopher), Roosevelt has become the symbol of the hopes of people in all the nations of the world except those which represent this dominant, superior class or race. I think we ought to get down to brass tacks with reference to the hopes of mankind as they relate to this symbol for which Roosevelt stands.

MR. ELLIOTT: That's right! Would you agree, Pettee? I should. It seems to me that Americans must fasten on the real alternatives. Those real alternatives affect you and me quite directly. If you begin to think of it in those terms, we don't want to live among a humanity that is trained like hunting dogs, as beasts of prey, and that is the one ideal of Naziism. That is a real and a brass-tack fact, because when you train people that way you have destroyed their claims to a spirit.

MR. PETTEE: Far from being an ideal of Naziism, I think that is simply a symptom of the character of this crisis. The structure of the Nazi party, the way they treat the Jews, the concentration camps, the secret police, all are the twentieth-century forms of the ever recurring element of crisis. We all know that this is a greater crisis than any other; we all know it is more intense and has produced more psychopathic forms of personality. Valtin's *Out of the Night* is sufficient lesson for anyone on that.[5]

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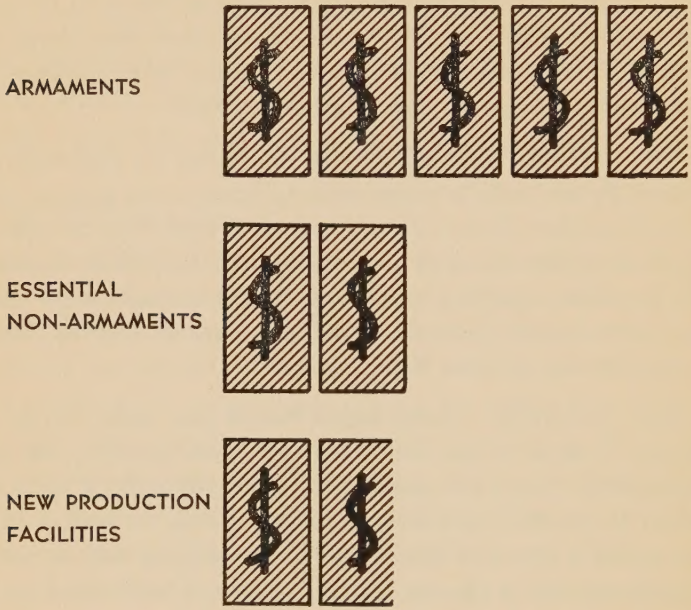
[5] *An autobiographical novel by Jan Valtin (Alliance Book Corp., 1941), who has been characterized as a former German secret agent and is at present charged with entering the United States illegally.*

SPENDING FOR DEFENSE: 1941

GENERAL ALLOCATIONS OF $17,500,000,000



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS $2,000,000,000

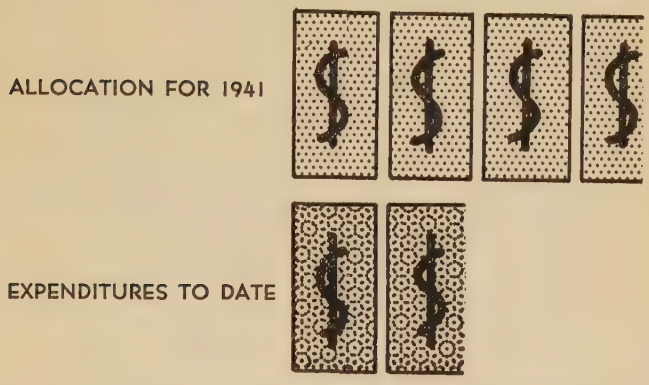
MR. SMITH: It does dramatize the conflict between Roosevelt and Hitler as the personages who symbolize the two ways of life.

MR. PETTEE: But it does not justify a view of the future as a necessary choice between one and the other. I don't think the Nazi choice can possibly be the future.

MR. ELLIOTT: We could go on and philosophize about history . . . .

MR. PETTEE: Oh, yes!

MR. ELLIOTT: . . . . and we could drag in the French Revolution and the analogies you make from that.



MR. PETTEE: I'd very much like to.

MR. ELLIOTT: I don't think it would be very profitable. At least the French Revolution had ends beyond the revolution. They were liberty, fraternity, and equality. The Nazis haven't gotten ends beyond that of becoming a lordly folk over Europe and enslaving anybody who resists their will.

MR. PETTEE: I would say that that was a natural condition of the times. The French Revolution occurred in times when people took doctrine very seriously. The rationalists of the Enlightenment believed that when they talked they were talking straight from the rhythm of history and that history would justify it.[6]

MR. ELLIOTT: Look, Pettee! Let's come down to brass tacks here. Is the Nazi revolution creative? You think it is. Now tell us why.

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[6] *The term "the Enlightenment" refers to the rationalistic philosophy of the eighteenth century which grew out of the scientific view of the world after the Renaissance.*

MR. PETTEE: I think there is no justification for holding that it is not; there is no evidence which can be established in terms of any method we know from interpretation of revolutions. The French Revolution was creative in our eyes; it was purely destructive in Burke's eyes.

MR. ELLIOTT: But not in the eyes of other contemporaries.

MR. PETTEE: Yes, in the eyes of other contemporaries. Other contemporaries in Germany agreed with Burke. Burke saw the first seven years of the French Revolution, and he died before the Code of Napoleon which typifies to us the constructive elements.

MR. ELLIOTT: You tell us what Hitler is going to do for the world when he's got his way with it.

MR. PETTEE: That is just what I *can't* do.

MR. ELLIOTT: Some of us think we know.

MR. PETTEE: Yes!

MR. ELLIOTT: The evidence is pretty well written as to what he is doing with it.

MR. PETTEE: I think the sure thing established throughout the history of revolutions is that the relation between the mind of the observer and the revolution itself is not rational.

MR. SMITH: Let me ask you a question, Pettee, to get all this clear. Are you arguing that the Nazi revolution is creative, and to that extent good in itself; or are you admitting that it is bad and arguing that it is temporary and, therefore, we don't have to do anything drastic about it?

MR. PETTEE: I am arguing rather that it is a phase in a process, and if it has any fruitfulness it will be the fruitfulness of the depression in the nineteenth century, so to speak. The process is one not understood by the participants, like a business cycle which is not understood by the participants, or it could not take place as it does. The violence is a temporary phase.

MR. ELLIOTT: That is awfully interesting, and it would just excuse us from taking any action whatever in this world, if we retire into historical perspectives. But haven't we got a concrete decision before us? Here is England about to go down. About that, would you agree or disagree?

MR. PETTEE: I would agree. I feel myself somewhat spread-eagled on the wheel of a caisson so far as history is concerned. I confess it is going to go on a long way before I get my thinking straightened out to my own satisfaction. I feel that the first duty of the rational man today is to try to learn to think straight about this situation, which I don't think any of us do yet. Beyond that, I would suggest peace now and union now with England.

MR. ELLIOTT: All right, but before we get to that particular brand of red herring, hadn't we better ask about straightening out our thinking? Are we going to wait until we have a perfect society—as President Hutchins of your University of Chicago, Smith, wants us to do—before we do anything?[7]

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[7] *Mr. Hutchins spoke on "The Proposition is Peace," from the University of Chicago's Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, March 30, to a nation-wide audience. He said, in speaking of the "four freedoms" and of the "catastrophe of war": "The trouble with the doctrine of progress through catastrophe is that you can be sure of the catastrophe but not of the progress. So of war as the path to freedom. You can be certain of the war. The freedom is another matter. If we enter this war, we shall lose what we have of the four freedoms. We shall lose the hope of realizing them. What we have, in this country, is hope. War, for this country, is a counsel of despair. It is a confession of failure. It is national suicide. . . . . We must show the world a nation which understands, values, and practices the four freedoms. This is America's destiny. . . . .*

"We cannot run away from our destiny because it is hard. We cannot avoid it by claiming that we must have the British fleet to protect us. . . . .

"The war to which humanity calls America is the war against poverty, disease, ignorance, and injustice. We must win this war in America now. . . . ."

MR. SMITH: Don't look at me; I'm not responsible!

MR. ELLIOTT: Can we retire into this irresponsibility that says that history rolls out something that will grind out by the will of the gods regardless of what we do? We are going to have to see the balance of power altered permanently in the world if we don't do something quickly.

MR. PETTEE: I quite agree with you on that; but, on the other hand, we have the choice between paving hell with good intentions or being a bull in a china closet and trying to direct our action through the best reason we can find which, after all, is what we claim to stand for.

MR. SMITH: Which would be to pave the way to hell with good intentions and which would be the bull in the china closet?

MR. PETTEE: I think, mistaking Hitler for a bull who can impose a system on the world forever in the image of himself, as we have known him in the last few years, is substantially just a devil theory. I think there is no good foundation for it.

MR. ELLIOTT: You may be willing to take the chance on his getting fat, like Goering, though I don't think Goering is quite the ruler of the world whom we should want to deal with.

MR. SMITH: Or flighty, like Hess.

MR. ELLIOTT: Yes, or flighty like Hess, or any of the other Nazi heroes in hero worship. But, as a matter of fact, that kind of thing is too dangerous to play with. Once Hitler wins this war, if your philosophy of history is wrong, people are not going to have any chance to do anything about it. They will be enslaved; they will join France, Poland, and the other nations that have believed, just as you do, that Hitler was not going to be any serious danger.

MR. PETTEE: You have a very wonderful custom here of attempting to throw the burden of proof by throwing the burden of risk onto the other side. It has always seemed to me that the idea

that we should enter a war now and go all-out on it is the one that bears the burden of proof, however it tries to throw it the other way.

MR. SMITH: I think, gentlemen, we could agree that we are not out to make Heaven at once of the world; that both alternatives are very bad, and that we will repent of every one we take. But let me get very clear what the alternatives are. Do I understand that Elliott is arguing that we ought to get into the war now on the side of Britain, and that you, Pettee, are arguing that we ought not to get into the war now but ought to propose peace with Hitler now through union with England?

MR. PETTEE: Yes.

MR. ELLIOTT: Well that is a very queer kind of proposal and about as unrealistic as anything I can think of. I don't say that Roosevelt means getting into the war now; I wish I were certain of that. The lead he has given in this country has been the lead of a democratic politician who is responsive and responsible to public opinion, and right now the thing is hanging in the balance. Everything he has said, the logic of his position, leads one to think that this conflict in his mind (and he is interpreting the mind of this country) is irresistible.

MR. PETTEE: I think you put your finger on the thing for a moment when you said that my proposal was unrealistic, Elliott.

MR. ELLIOTT: All right. Let's have it.

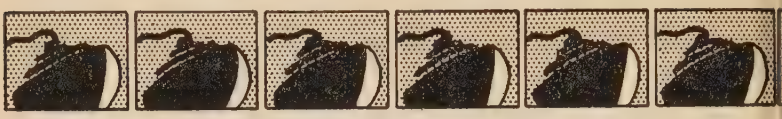
MR. PETTEE: The problem of this time is the chasm between what is realistic to one person and what is realistic to another. We have occasionally mentioned in our other discussions that the problem comes down eventually to one of philosophy and metaphysics, which we never have settled and certainly cannot settle now. It is a matter of long disagreement.

MR. SMITH: Now wait! Can we get union now as far as England is concerned?

MR. PETTEE: I believe we could. I think England would settle

THE BATTLE FOR T

TOTAL SHIPPING IN BRITISH SERVICE



ESTIMATED MINIMUM NEEDS

TOTAL BRITISH LOSSES TO MAY 13

EACH COMPLETE

for union right now. She is under the bombs; she's got them in her lap.

MR. SMITH: If we propose, "If you will unite with us now, then we will make peace with Hitler now on those terms?"

MR. ELLIOTT: What a funny kind of proposal to come from a fellow who is opposing intervention in this war! Supposing it was good—and I don't think it is the ideal solution; I don't think union *now* or union *then* or union *ever* is going to reorganize the world without really an international basis—do you think that you could force England into it within the time limits at our disposal? Do you think you could persuade the Senate of the United States and all the people here? Certainly not unless we were at war; certainly not unless we had given an earnest of good faith, and we could not stop Hitler enough to want peace without that same thing.

LANTIC: MAY, 1941

,000,000 TONS

MR. PETTEE: You have neatly tagged the ball and chain that applies to us all there, Elliott. There is no danger of any of us having our will in this country, and if I was asked to persuade the Senate of anything I am sure that I would ask for salary terms during the undertaking.

MR. ELLIOTT: That is what we are up against; we have to *persuade* it. The Senate reminds me of the mule a boy in my battery was once caught kicking in the stomach. (I won't say anything more rude over the radio, but he kicked him effectively.) When I jumped him about it, he said to me in a very tolerant way: "Well, Lieutenant, I know you've got to take my pay away from me, but whatever the drill book says, you've got to hit a mule. A horse is like a man; you can reason with a horse. But a mule, Lieutenant, is like a woman; you've got to hit a mule."

I think that is the Nazi frame of mind. We've got to *persuade* the Senate.

MR. PETTEE: That is a terrible story to tell a few minutes after you have been urging our colleague here to run for the Senate. Do you mean to kick him in the stomach?

MR. ELLIOTT: That's a little bit aside from the point.

MR. SMITH: Who kicked whom when we talk of mules, after all?

MR. ELLIOTT: As a matter of fact, the real question we've got to determine is what the immediate decision of this country is going to be on the thing that means a shooting war. Are we going to see that aid gets to Britain or not? Roosevelt's leadership in that is to clarify public opinion in this country. Am I right?

MR. SMITH: That's what Roosevelt *vs.* Hitler means now. What are we going to do about Hitler? Are we going to make peace with him or are we going to make war against him?

MR. PETTEE: My point is that there is no ideal solution, and the most economical solution, economical in all the terms of war losses—morale, blood, thunder, crippled children, an anemic generation, and the rest of it—would be peace now, and union now. It would be the first situation in which a stable equilibrium of forces was set up.

The grounds for intervention—that it would mean victory—are justified only if our present arms program is overtaking and is going to surpass Hitler's.[8] If it is overtaking and going to surpass Hitler's, union now and peace now would provide a stable basis.

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[8] *A report criticizing the defense program, sponsored by dissenting members of the Office of Production Management, and other federal officials, was published May 18. Charging inefficiency and lack of coordination, the report states that "chaotic management has made it impossible to reach the arms production goal set for the current year."* (*See illustrations, pages 8 and 9.*)

MR. ELLIOTT: If I correctly understand you, you say that failing to get union now and to force Hitler to agree to peace now without fighting on our part, we'd do nothing. Is that right?

MR. PETTEE: No, I would not insist upon that. I would be perfectly willing to serve an ultimatum to Hitler. On the other hand, I feel that Hitler would accept it.

MR. ELLIOTT: What sort of an ultimatum? Are you going to say: "Keep all of Europe and we will give you that?"

MR. PETTEE: I would announce union now.

MR. ELLIOTT: Before its effect?

MR. PETTEE: No, I would announce it and then announce that England is part of the territory of the Anglo-American Union and will be defended by the entire forces of that Union.

MR. ELLIOTT: You will forgive me! We are old friends, and consequently disagree with some heat because of that . . . .

MR. PETTEE: Yes.

MR. ELLIOTT: . . . . but if ever I heard an unrealistic proposal to the American people—calculated to muddy the waters at a time when we need to clear them—that is one!

MR. SMITH: You mean, because you could not get union now, and because you could not get union now you could not get peace now?

MR. ELLIOTT: You could not get peace now. Hitler won't have peace until you have stopped him, and the first thing we've got to do to get a real peace is to *stop* him. After that we have a real mission in the world. I hope Roosevelt stands for that; I think he can stand for it better than any other democratic leader. We have a healing mission, but first we must have the resolution to face the decision that will make peace possible, and that is to stop Hitler and

keep him from destroying the sea power that stands between us and Hitler and Japan.[9]

MR. PETTEE: On the ground of one of our oldest differences, Elliott, you believe that by entering a war we can find our ideals and find our morale. To my mind (and it may simply identify me as a child of the barren twenties over whom our friend, Mr. Adler,[10] of the University of Chicago, would wring his hands) . . . .

MR. SMITH: Don't look at me! I'm not responsible.

MR. PETTEE: . . . . if we haven't got them before we fight we will come out with a Harding election and a crucified leader.

MR. ELLIOTT: Better a Harding election than a Hitler victory, and if we haven't got the courage to stand by our convictions and fight we certainly are not going to find ourselves any time.

MR. PETTEE: If you see a Hitler victory (which I don't see), the forces driving Hitler, which he symbolizes, will not carry him over here. The German army would stop fighting long before he got here.

MR. SMITH: We have now a constructive proposal. It is the proposal that we offer Great Britain union now, with all that means, and that we offer Hitler peace on the strength of union now. The objection seems to be in your mind, Elliott, that, first, we cannot get the union now without getting into the war; and, second, we could not get peace now.

I wonder if we could persuade Roosevelt now to make that kind of proposition—coming back to the hero of our way of life.

MR. ELLIOTT: I think that is the first point that would be necessary, and then we would have to persuade the American people

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[9] *For a chart of sea losses, from latest official sources, see the illustration on pages 14–15.*

[10] *Mortimer J. Adler, associate professor of the philosophy of law, University of Chicago; author of "How to Read a Book."*

and the British people and a lot of others. These issues ought to be put in practical forms and the President must do that job. The polls show that over 70 per cent of our people favor aid to Britain: naval aid to Britain; *all-out* aid.

MR. SMITH: You are uneasy, Pettee, about polls?

MR. PETTEE: Very!

MR. ELLIOTT: Wait a minute! Whether Britain is in danger of going down, nobody but the constitutionally represented electives of this people are qualified to say *when*, *where*, and *how* we fight.

MR. PETTEE: That sounds like something written by Laski before Lippmann wrote his book on *Opinion*.

MR. ELLIOTT: Never mind about Lippmann!

MR. SMITH: The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE is going to discuss polls next Sunday, so let's leave that out. But let Pettee have some word, if he wants to, about Roosevelt's role as the hero of this way of life.

MR. PETTEE: I don't think the constitutionally elected leader of this country automatically carries the mail on an issue like this. Then, as to the polls, we both agree that they are not entirely trustworthy. You have your own form of correction and I have mine and these just happen to be opposite, and it is a matter on which we disagree.

MR. ELLIOTT: All right! Let's leave that for next week, when it will be settled.

MR. PETTEE: All right!

MR. ELLIOTT: Let's take Roosevelt as a leader, now. He has a chance to stand in history not only as the greatest leader of our people but of all democratic peoples, if he has the courage Lincoln had. The magnanimity, yes; the charity, yes; but, first of all, the

resoluteness and the courage to face the issue that is before us and to take the lead.

MR. SMITH: May I interject there that the conclusion of this hero in America is that Lincoln, because of his magnanimity, bulks larger in the American mind than any other hero that we have produced from Washington down.

MR. ELLIOTT: Right! But don't let's forget his second inaugural:

> *With malice toward none; with charity for all; but with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in: To bind up the nation's wounds; to establish and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.*

That was Lincoln!

MR. PETTEE: I think the American people may well join with us in hoping that in this situation we have a Lincoln and not a Buchanan.

MR. ELLIOTT: Right!

MR. SMITH: Remember Lincoln closed his Cooper Union speech with:

> *Let us have faith that right will make right, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty.*

Well, gentlemen, you have reasoned reasonably, I think, considering the deep differences between you with reference to this question. May I gather together, if possible, what you agree upon and what you do not agree upon?

I think—in spite of some remark Pettee made—that we can say that we all agree that Hitlerism is hell (to use Sherman's phrase with reference to war) to all of the conquered peoples other than the people whom he leads. . . . .

MR. PETTEE: We sure may!

MR. SMITH: . . . . but the processes of history sometimes yield rom revolutions themselves more gentle fruits than the revolutions hemselves exemplify. Now here arises the difference: Our colleague Pettee thinks that this revolution is transitory in its bad phases nd that Hitler is not a demon; he is the hero, to his own people, f a revolution which—when time has done to it its utmost—will ring it out into something that is tolerable.

MR. PETTEE: Yes.

MR. SMITH: On the other side, you think that isn't possible, Elliott. We've got on the whole, you think, to get into the war; ve've got to bring it about in such a fashion that, if Roosevelt is o be the hero, he is to become a Lincoln of the nations instead f merely a hero through magnanimity toward this nation.

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. What reported German reaction to the flight of Rudolf Hess is cited as typifying Nazi "principles"? Page 3.
2. What are the four freedoms which President Roosevelt has described as symbols of democracy? Page 6.
3. What were the objectives of the French Revolution? Page 9.
4. What steps—necessary before union with England could be accomplished—are listed as ruling out that solution of the problem? Why? Page 14.
5. How is it suggested peace would result after union with Britain? Page 16.
6. What is the alternative solution suggested by Professor Elliott? Page 17.
7. What percentage of Americans are reported to be in favor of naval aid to Britain? Page 19.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 24.

*

1. Discuss the theory that Naziism is a revolutionary movement arising from crisis. Compare the events of the last several years with those which accompanied the French Revolution.

2. Do you agree that it is so difficult to judge contemporary events that our judgment of the European crisis is likely to be proven inaccurate in the light of history?

3. It is suggested that, just as good resulted from the French Revolution, good may in the end result from the present European war. Discuss this proposition and outline some objectives of value which might be achieved.

4. Discuss the implications of the statement that "the conventional peace is a bygone thing" and the suggestion that conceptions of "conventional war" and "conventional victory" may also be changing. What evidence can you gather to support or deny these assertions?

5. One of the participants suggests that union with Britian may be the surest way of obtaining peace and stability. Discuss the importance of the obstacles standing in the way of this move (listed by Professor Elliott).

6. Assuming the possibility of achieving a unification of the Anglo-American peoples, discuss the likelihood of being able to (1) deliver a peace ultimatum to Germany; (2) obtain peace, perhaps by negotiation, without resort to force; (3) stabilize world-order after peace has been obtained.

SUGGESTED READINGS

"F. D. R.: President of the World," *New Republic*, March 31, 1941. *President Roosevelt described as on the threshold of a new career as leader of the democratic world.*

JANEWAY, ELIOT, "Roosevelt *vs.* Hitler," *Life*, May 5, 1941. *The causes and conditions of democratic-totalitarian conflict, with attention to the ways in which America and Germany are today fighting wars "short of shooting."*

LINDBERGH, CHARLES A., "A Letter to Americans," *Collier's*, March 29, 1941. *The isolationist case presented and argued by one of America's best-known aviator-heroes.*

PALMER, PAUL, "The New Deal World Tour," *Scribner's Commentator*, May, 1941. *A critical review of the Roosevelt–New Deal foreign policy and the place the administration envisages for the United States in a new world-order.*

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN D., "The Threat to Our Nation," *Vital Speeches*, April 15, 1941. *The President states the bases of his foreign policy and the lines of its development.*

VILLARD, OSWALD GARRISON, "President of the World?" *Christian Century*, April 9, 1941. *A critical view of the proposition that President Roosevelt should take leadership of all democratic elements in a struggle against fascism.*

WILLKIE, WENDELL L., "Americans, Stop Being Afraid!" *Collier's*, May 10, 1941. *The leader of the "loyal opposition" urges a strong American foreign policy based on aid to Britain.*

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain interesting and illuminating sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast discussion of "Defense and America's Health" May 11, 1941.*

*

More Participation

I listened with great interest to the ROUND TABLE discussion . . . . on the health of the nation and national defense. I agree with the position of the medical men [who said] that when 40 per cent of the men examined for military service are rejected the state of the nation's health is a disgrace. I agree with Dr. Wirth that there is a need to get help to those who cannot pay for it.

I listened carefully to see whether the medical men could or would place the responsibility for that failure but I heard no specific statement made. While on this point, why did the medical men spare the health programs of our public schools as they did? Miss Jessie M. Parker, State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Iowa, has repeatedly called upon the men in charge of the physical education programs in the state to broaden the training base to include the individual student. Miss Parker points out with prophetic clearness that our emphasis upon winning teams has not given us a broad "every-pupil participates" program. She publicly pleads for less emphasis upon the winning team and more upon the needs of the individual student. How can the medical profession overlook the fact that since 1918 the largest part of the dollar spent in physical education in the public school has gone into the coaching of winning teams—not into the development of a broad program of health instruction.

R. M. McG., Iowa

*

Courage and Vision

One doctor on your program made the statement that the medical men of America are ready to meet any challenge. I would suggest that these men step out of their cloistered past into the whirling, throbbing world of 1941. Here they would find their lives so full and the need so great that all else would be lost in the one wish to help, to give, and to build for the future. Some men of this profession have had the courage and vision to make their expert service available to all in this needy world. The people of America salute these men.

H. J. M., Michigan

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Unfit in the C.C.C.

For some time I have thought it would be more reasonable to expect the army to put the physically unfit men into some kind of working battalion, or even the C.C.C. camp program, in order to build them up and make them available for future army use rather than to turn them back on the civilian population as men undesirable for the army and even for civilian work.

A. B. MacA., California

*

Basic Causes

Inadequate income leads to (1) poor housing with its leaky roofs, holey sidings, drafty floors, bad or no plumbing or sanitary appliances, and damp cellars; (2) poor food or inadequate food, poorly cooked on poor equipment; (3) poor or inadequate clothing . . . . ; and (4) no money for medical or dental care.

According to the wardens of our penitentiaries 69 per cent of the inmates come from the unemployed, the underemployed, and groups with inadequate income.

America must wake up to the fact that the basic cause of its problems is inadequate income on the part of the masses. It is the basic cause of the hostility against the present economic system. A more just and equitable readjustment of our national income will do much to solve our housing, our criminal, our political, and our health problems.

J. E. C., Ohio

After the War

One of the few good things—perhaps the only good thing—that ever resulted from war has been the advance in the prevention and cure of disease. We all know the results which emerged from the last war—the improvement in surgical techniques and the maggot treatment for gangrene (discovered by an American physician), etc. . . . .

Whatever may be the ill-effects of the war on our physical well-being, I feel sure that the most widespread havoc will be wrought on our nervous systems. . . . . The restoration of sanity to a shattered and unsettled world will be one of the most difficult and important tasks in which the medical profession will be called upon to take a leading part. Of the 85,000 Disabled American Veterans in Facilities, 35,000 are neuropsychiatric patients. This time it will get the civilian as well as the soldier.

I. B. S. C., Ohio

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101. *Tariff Walls*
104. *Is America's Economic Frontier Closed?*
105. *Must the World Unite?*
106. *Can We Protect America?*
108. *The Archbishops Look at America*
111. *Where's That War Boom?*
113. *Blitzkrieg, May, 1940*
114. *America and the Peacemongers*
115. *Babies Cost Money*
117. *Have We Time to Think?*
118. *Italy Marches.* (June 16, 1940)
119. *America's Capacity to Arm*
120. *Economic Union for the Americas*
121. *Civil Liberties and the Fifth Column*
122. *M-Day and America*
124. *Should America Conscript Men Now?*
125. *The New France*
126. *What Really Happened at Havana?*
128. *Blitzkrieg on Britain*
129. *Should America Aid Britain?*
130. *Should America Feed Europe?*
131. *Can Germany Conquer Latin America?*
132. *Conscript Wealth, Too?*
134. *Will Hitler Attack America Next?*

Nos.

137. *Warmongers and Appeasers*
138. *Polls and the Election*
140. *World Revolution*
141. *Art and Our Warring World*
142. *The Soviet Union and America*
143. *Is Hitler Revolutionizing Britain?*
144. *Where Are Those 50,000 Planes?*
146. *1951: The Next Decade in Education*

1941

147. *More Aid to Britain Now?*
148. *Is This Our War?*
149. *Morale: First Line of Defense?*
150. *Can Capitalism Defend America?*
152. *Can the Americas Be Invaded?*
153. *Guns or Butter?*
154. *Dilemma in the Far East*
155. *How to Fight Nazi Propaganda*
156. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
157. *Strikes and National Defense*
158. *Defense Economics*
159. *Should America Convoy to Britain?*
160. *Balkan Blitzkrieg*
161. *War Aims and Peace Aims*
162. *Which Road for America?*
163. *Lessons from Europe's War*
164. *The Effect of the Blitzkrieg on the Economic Order*
165. *Defense and America's Health.* May 11

ALL ROUND TABLE TRANSCRIPTS CONTAIN ADDED FACTUAL MATERIAL IN THE FORM OF GRAPHS, MAPS, PICTOGRAPHS, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHIES, ETC.

ROUND TABLE NETWORK

2:30 P.M. EASTERN DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1260	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1250	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150

1:30 P.M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME

Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1300	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1410	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	1370
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1240
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930			

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1450			

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1440	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1490	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1380	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	810
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1300	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1340	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1240

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLV	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Arizona	KYUM	1240

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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Honolulu, T.H.	KGU	760	

THE POLLS AND THE CRISIS

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GEORGE GALLUP, Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

HAROLD D. LASSWELL, Political Scientist, Washington, D.C., Former Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

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SUGGESTED READINGS

"American Opinion about the War," *Harper's*, April, 1941.

CANTRIL, HADLEY, "America Faces the War," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, September, 1940.

CANTRIL, HADLEY; RUGG, DONALD; and WILLIAMS, F. W., "America Faces the War: Shifts in Opinion," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, December, 1940.

"The Public Opinion Polls: Dr. Jekyll or Mr. Hyde?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, June, 1940.

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